

**THOROUGHLY CRITICIZE
THE “GANG OF FOUR”
AND BRING ABOUT
A NEW UPSURGE
IN THE MOVEMENT TO BUILD
TACHAI-TYPE COUNTIES
THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY**

CHEN YUNG-KUEI

SOLIDARITY CENTER
1119 MASSACHUSETTS
LAWRENCE, KS 66044
785-843-1374

THOROUGHLY CRITICIZE THE "GANG OF FOUR"
AND BRING ABOUT A NEW UPSURGE
IN THE MOVEMENT TO BUILD
TACHAI-TYPE COUNTIES
THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

— Report at the Second National Conference
on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture
(December 20, 1976)

CHEN YUNG-KUEI

Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central
Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council
of the People's Republic of China

彻底批判“四人帮”
掀起普及大寨县运动的新高潮
中共中央政治局委员，国务院副总理陈永贵
在第二次全国农业学大寨会议上的报告

外文出版社出版 (北京)
1977年(32开)第1版
编号：(英)3050—2742
000020
3—E—1435P

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS PEKING

First Edition 1977

Printed in the People's Republic of China

Comrades:

At the important moment when our Party has won a great historic victory, the Second National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture is convened in accordance with a decision by the Party Central Committee on the proposal of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. This is a very important conference. Our conference will give tremendous impetus to the great struggle to expose and repudiate the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, give greater momentum to the movement to build Tachai-type counties than last year and encourage us to make still greater efforts than last year. In the last few days, the comrades have conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's brilliant work *On the Ten Major Relationships*, reviewed Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's summing-up report to last year's national learn-from-Tachai conference and studied relevant documents issued by the Party Central Committee. They have also read the evidence of the crimes of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-

Yao anti-Party clique. All the participants have warmly praised our wise leader Chairman Hua, angrily exposed and repudiated the "gang of four," exchanged the experience gained over the past year in building Tachai-type counties and mechanizing farm work, and discussed future tasks. With ease of mind and in high spirits, the comrades are fully confident of success in accelerating the building of Tachai-type counties throughout the country, speeding up the development of agriculture and bringing about a still better situation.

I will now elaborate on a few questions:

I. A Great Historic Victory

In October this year, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country welcomed two happy events. One was that the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee unanimously endorsed Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chairman of its Military Commission; the other was that the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng smashed the counter-revolutionary schemes of the

is united in struggle. (2) It should establish the dominance of the poor and lower-middle peasants as a class so as to be able to wage resolute struggles against capitalist activities and exercise effective supervision over the class enemies and remould them. (3) Cadres at the county, commune and brigade levels should participate regularly in collective productive labour as in Hsiyang County. (4) Rapid progress and substantial results should be achieved in farmland capital construction, mechanization of agriculture and scientific farming. (5) The collective economy should be steadily expanded, and production and income of the poor communes and brigades should reach or surpass the present level of the average communes and brigades in the locality. (6) All-round development should be made in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery with considerable increases in output, big contributions to the state and steady improvement in the living standards of the commune members.
p. 39

12. According to this system, one-third of the cadres stay in the office to handle day-to-day matters, another third go to work at the grass-roots level to gain first-hand work experience, and the remaining third take part in collective productive labour.
p. 39

claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame onto others."

7. These are cadre schools of a new type set up in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive of May 7, 1966. Cadres attend in rotation so as to remould their world outlook by such means as actively taking part in current struggles, serious reading and study, engaging in collective productive labour, and going to work in the production brigades of nearby people's communes. This is a measure of vital importance for carrying out the Party's basic line in the historical period of socialism, opposing and guarding against revisionism, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

8. This means the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of farm output quotas on a household basis.

9. Summing up China's experience in increasing agricultural production, Chairman Mao formulated the Eight-Point Charter for agriculture providing for soil improvement, rational application of fertilizer, water conservancy, improved seed strains, rational close-planting, plant protection, field management and innovation of farm implements.

10. This means transition to ownership by the rural people's commune. At the present stage, the rural people's communes generally take the form of three-level ownership, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the last as the basic accounting unit. When the time is ripe, this will gradually pass over to the system of ownership with the brigade or even the commune as the basic accounting unit and, in the more distant future, to ownership by the whole people.

11. The six criteria for a Tachai-type county are as follows:

(1) The county Party committee should be a leading core which firmly adheres to the Party's line and policies and

anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state. The people of all our nationalities were overjoyed and the whole country was a scene of jubilation in celebrating that great historic victory.

This year has been far from ordinary. The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao left us for ever on September 9. And prior to this, we lost our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country were in deep sorrow, and were at the same time worried about the future and the destiny of the Party and state. At that time we were indeed confronted with the real danger of our Party turning revisionist and our country changing its political colour. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" had long practised revisionism, created splits and conspired and intrigued under the guise of Marxism, and had long been engaged in activities to usurp Party and state power. During the period when Chairman Mao was seriously ill and after he passed away, they quickened their pace in a rush to usurp supreme Party and state leadership. They are a gang of bourgeois con-

spirators and careerists, typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and unrepentant capitalist-roaders still on the capitalist road. There are serious questions, too, in the political history of some of them. If their plot had succeeded, if they had taken power, they would have carried out a fascist dictatorship throughout the country and, externally, gone all out for national betrayal and capitulationism. Although it can be stated definitely that they would be short-lived politically and that they would not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the total population and who would certainly get organized to overthrow them, a civil war in such a case would have been inevitable and this would have meant a setback in the Chinese revolution.

At this critical historical juncture, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's behests and wisely and resolutely smashed the counter-revolutionary plot of the "gang of four" at one blow, thus saving the Party and the revolution. The great victory in this struggle is of great immediate importance and of far-reaching historic significance for our Party in adhering to the Party's

correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution." He set forth five requirements for worthy successors to the cause of proletarian revolution. These are:

"They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchev wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

"They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchev who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction.

"They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice. But they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchev and prevent such had elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level.

"They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of 'from the masses, to the masses,' and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. They must not be despot like Khrushchev and violate the Party's democratic centralism, make surprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially.

"They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must never cover up their errors like Khrushchev, and

4. At the meeting on the work of the Party Central Committee at Peitaiho in August 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao put forward in still more comprehensive terms our Party's basic line in the entire historical period of socialism. He pointed out: "Socialist society covers a considerable long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."
p. 12
5. In criticizing the novel *Water Margin*, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Water Margin opposed the corrupt officials only and not the emperor." Employing their customary trick of twisting Chairman Mao's directives, the "gang of four" used these words to attack the movement in the rural areas to consolidate the Party organizations and rectify the style of work as only rectifying at the grass-roots level and not the Central Committee. Thus they actually directed the spearhead of their attack against the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.
p. 22
6. Summarizing the experience of the world communist movement, Chairman Mao pointed out in 1964: "In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change

basic line and policies, persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause in China pioneered by Chairman Mao; in consolidating and developing the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing a capitalist restoration and building socialism; and in upholding proletarian internationalism and continuing to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is the successor trained and selected by the great leader Chairman Mao himself. Having complete faith in Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman Mao wrote in his own hand "With you in charge, I'm at ease." Loyal to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng has firmly carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is loyal to the Party and selfless, open and aboveboard, modest and prudent, democratic in his style of work, unassuming and approachable and good at uniting with comrades to work together. He has the ability to lead the whole Party and command the whole

army; he is an outstanding Marxist leader. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country take tremendous pride in once again having a wise leader of their own.

Our Party is a great Party, our army is a great army and our people are a great people. Since the victory of the new-democratic revolution, we have acquired the experience of 27 years of socialist revolution and construction. Particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in which the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao were smashed and now that the "gang of four" which tried to wreck the country and ruin the people has also been smashed, Mao Tsetung Thought has found its way ever deeper into the hearts of the people and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has been grasped more firmly by the people in their hundreds of millions. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, our Party has become even more united and even more vigorous and the dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated. We now have "a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and live-

Notes

1. This film which depicts the heroic deeds of the oil workers in opening up the Taiching Oilfield was approved by Chairman Mao and acclaimed by the masses. It highlights the oil workers' spirit of daring to struggle and self-reliantly breaking a new path in face of great difficulties. p. 7

2. *Water Margin* is a novel about a peasant war towards the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127). Chao Kai is the leader of a peasant uprising in this novel. After Chao Kai's death, Sung Chang, a representative of the landlord class who wormed his way into the ranks of the peasant insurgents, usurps the leadership and surrenders to the emperor. Chairman Mao pointed out: "The merit of the book *Water Margin* lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as (teaching material) by negative example to help all the people recognize capitulationists." But Chiang Ching, out of ulterior motives, tampered with this instruction of Chairman Mao's. p. 8

3. In 1963, when Chairman Mao called on the whole nation to start the socialist education movement in both town and country, Liu Shao-chi sent a work team headed by his wife to Hopei Province's Taoyuan Production Brigade. Pretending to carry out the movement, she and other members of the work team attacked the cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants adhering to the socialist road, and shielded bad elements in an attempt to bring about a capitalist restoration there. Liu Shao-chi and company lauded the so-called "experience of Taoyuan" to the skies and plotted to popularize it throughout the country. p. 12

more of Marxism-Leninism, natural science and, in a nutshell, the laws governing the objective world and commit fewer subjectivist errors, the goal of our work of revolution and construction can certainly be attained.

Let us unite to win still greater victories under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua!

"lineless." Our country is full of promise and the people in our country are filled with confidence in victory. There is no obstacle on our road forward that cannot be surmounted. A new upsurge in the socialist revolution and construction is in the making, and we must heighten our revolutionary spirit to welcome this new upsurge.

II. Hold Still Higher the Red Banner of Learning from Tachai in Agriculture

A fierce struggle around the question of whether to persist in the movement **In agriculture, learn from Tachai** or to oppose it was waged by our Party against the "gang of four" in the past year. This was an intense struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The first stage of the national learn-from-Tachai conference convened in September last year with the approval of the Party Central Committee was held in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province. Chiang Ching got to Tachai before the conference began. What did she go there for? First, to attack Tachai; second, to denounce the film *Pioneers*,¹ and third, to make a so-called comment on the novel

Water Margin. She wanted to lop off the red banner of Tachai. She rabidly opposed Chairman Mao's directive on the film *Pioneers* in an attempt to pull down the red banner of Taching. She babbled that "the crux of the book *Water Margin* was to make Chao Kai a figurehead"¹² and that "at present, there are people in the Party Central Committee who are trying to make Chairman Mao a figurehead." Her aim was to create confusion and scheme to split the Party Central Committee.

Chiang Ching made a surprise attack in an unscheduled talk at the opening ceremony of the conference on September 15. She accused the first secretaries of the provincial Party committees of neglecting agriculture because they were not attending the conference, although she knew full well that the Party Central Committee had decided they need not attend. She demanded that her talk on *Water Margin* be printed and circulated and a recording of her talk on the same subject be played at the conference, in an attempt to make trouble and alter the conference's orientation by levelling attacks at Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and other leading comrades of the central authority. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who presided over the conference, saw through her scheme and promptly re-

experts versed in both political and economic work. It is necessary to do a good job of political-ideological work on the one hand and of economic construction on the other. We should develop a really good understanding of economic construction."

The great struggle in smashing the "gang of four" will help steadily to deepen the socialist revolution in both the superstructure and the economic base and spur the vigorous development of construction work in all fields. Following Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou En-lai in his report on the work of the government to the 4th National People's Congress proposed that the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology be achieved before the end of this century, so as to promote our national economy to the front ranks in the world, and build our country into a modern powerful socialist state. Comrades, there will be twists and turns in the course of realizing this magnificent goal. But we Chinese Communists have never been cowed by difficulties. So long as we persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and so long as we come to understand

the tradition of doing mass work and continue to take part in the movement to build Tachai-type counties.

The movement to build more Tachai-type counties is a militant effort of the 700 million peasants to deepen the socialist revolution and speed up socialist construction. In this movement, new things will constantly arise and many new questions will confront us. Leading cadres at all levels, especially Party secretaries at provincial and prefectural levels, should personally take part in the movement, carry out investigation and study in selected spots and delve into matters for first-hand information so that they can gain the initiative in leading the movement. Around the time of next year's summer harvest, the central authorities are going to summon the Party secretaries of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in charge of agriculture to a meeting at which they are to report on the work in selected spots. We should firmly put into practice Chairman Mao's teaching: "All secretaries of the provincial, municipal and prefectural Party committees and the leading comrades of the central departments should exert themselves and, on the basis of raising their level of Marxism-Leninism, turn themselves into

ported it to the Party Central Committee and to Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao sharply criticized Chiang Ching's talk: "Shit! Barking up the wrong tree," and gave the specific instruction: "Don't publish the talk, don't play the recording or print the text." Chairman Mao also asked a leading comrade in the Party Central Committee to relay this to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng by phone. In accordance with Chairman Mao's directive, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng instructed the conference not to play Chiang Ching's recording or circulate the text of her talk, and he told Comrade Wang Chien (First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee of Shansi where Tachai and Hsiyang are located — Tr.) not to play the recording in Shansi Province either, thus giving Chiang Ching a head-on blow and frustrating her scheme.

On October 15, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, made the summing-up report "Let the Whole Party Mobilize for a Vast Effort to Develop Agriculture and Build Tachai-Type Counties Throughout the Country." This important Marxist document replete with Mao Tsetung Thought won warm support from all the representatives at the conference. They said: "If we act according to this report, we will be full of

drive and have bright prospects.” But the “gang of four” hated Comrade Hua Kuo-feng’s report which had been discussed and approved by the Political Bureau. Immediately after it was made, Chiang Ching turned round and viciously said to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and me: “To put it mildly, that report is revisionist!” In this way she insolently labelled it a revisionist report. However, the great leader Chairman Mao was very satisfied with the conference. Chairman Mao approved Comrade Hua Kuo-feng’s report the same evening it was sent to him. The report was issued to the whole Party as Document No. 21 of the Party Central Committee.

Inspired by the guidelines of the report, the whole Party was mobilized, and the cadres and masses showed great enthusiasm. A tremendous upsurge in building Tachai-type counties throughout the country soon appeared, giving impetus to all fields of work. The whole country was full of vigour and the situation was excellent. Then the “gang of four” rushed out in force and put up desperate opposition in a bid to stamp out the movement to build Tachai-type counties. Wang Hung-wen rang up and asked for all the minutes of the conference, trying to collect blacklist information

ing Tachai-type counties should continue to consolidate and develop, the others should strive to build themselves into Tachai-type counties at the earliest possible date. In the light of the six criteria¹¹ for a Tachai-type county put forward by Chairman Hua, they should analyse their own conditions, mobilize the masses for full discussion and work out their programmes for building themselves into Tachai-type counties and yearly plans for their implementation, which must be seriously carried out. Check-ups and appraisals of the work done should be made periodically. From now on, the Party committees of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should start to draw up an agricultural development programme of their own for the period ending 1985, on the basis of the programmes made by various counties.

The central departments concerned and the leading organs at provincial, prefectural and county levels should introduce the “three-thirds system,”¹² with one-third of their cadres organized every year into work teams to go deep into the rural areas where they should eat, live and work together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, and take part in building Tachai-type counties. The People’s Liberation Army should carry forward

and people's communes, and make sure that Party secretaries attend to matters themselves and the whole Party goes all out to develop agriculture. Provincial Party committees should conscientiously grasp agriculture and the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. All seven sectors — industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party — at the central and local levels, and all departments and trades should go a step further and take effective measures to help build Tachai-type counties. The programmes of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions for building Tachai-type counties in 1977 should be finalized at this conference. The plans of various departments under the Central Committee and state organs for contributing to building Tachai-type counties should be reported to the central authorities in January or February next year. It is necessary to further strengthen rural medical and health work, and do a good job in preventing and curing schistosomiasis and other local diseases, and in family planning.

The key to building Tachai-type counties lies in the county Party committees. While the exist-

on Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades of the central authority. Yao Wen-yuan forbade the journal *Hongqi* to carry Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report, saying: "We won't publish it," "I just don't want to print it." Though the report had been listed in the table of contents, he deleted it. He even opposed publicizing Tachai and Ta-ching. He instructed *Renmin Ribao* with these words: "Don't play up Tachai in everything you print"; "Be more careful about publicizing Ta-ching." The mass media under the "gang of four's" control reeled off one article after another attacking Comrade Fua Kuo-feng's report by innuendo. Chang Chun-chiao totally negated the report and ordered Shanghai not to act on it, and to "stand firm."

A sworn follower of the "gang of four" in Liaoning Province also frenziedly opposed acting in the spirit of the conference. He objected to calling any meeting on it, big or small. Acting on the sinister bidding of the "gang of four," certain people on the Shanghai municipal Party committee prohibited four things. First, they prohibited mention of "The key to building Tachai-type counties lies in the county Party committees." They clamored: "Why not the provincial Party committees?

And what about the Central Committee?" Second, they prohibited consolidating Party organizations and rectification of the style of work. They vilified both as "metaphysical." Third, they prohibited dispatching work teams, slandering this practice as the "bourgeois reactionary line" or "the experience of Taoyuan."³ Fourth, they prohibited education in the Party's basic line,⁴ smearing it as "criticism of the petty bourgeoisie by the big bourgeoisie." They even went so far as to use such language as "When wolves are in power, it's no use assailing foxes" to fling mud at the great leader Chairman Mao and other leading comrades of the Central Committee. They also viciously attacked Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report, quibbling that "even if the Chairman checked off the document, it does not necessarily mean he agrees with it all. We'll have to see. Let him (referring to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng — Tr.) put on a show."

How utterly reactionary they were!

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's speech at the meeting on the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping in February this year was discussed and endorsed by the Political Bureau and had Chairman Mao's approval. The speech clearly pointed out that the movement should be conducted under the centralized leader-

and industrial crops and ensure fulfilment of the state purchase quotas, and aid industry and towns by supplying the cities and industrial and mining areas with more industrial raw materials and non-staple foodstuffs.

The shattering of the "gang of four" has greatly liberated the productive forces. With the mobilization of the whole Party and the efforts of the people of the whole country, we can certainly make up for the time lost as a result of interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" and bring about a greater and faster development of our country's agriculture. The tremendous expansion of agriculture will in turn motivate and promote a new upsurge in the entire national economy.

V. Party Secretaries Should Attend to Matters Themselves, the Whole Party Go All Out to Develop Agriculture

There will soon be a new upsurge in the movement to build more Tachai-type counties. Party committees at all levels should strengthen their leadership as effectively as they did in leading the land reform and the movements for co-operatives

their conditions. Party committees at all levels should strengthen their leadership, conduct conscientious investigation and study and take effective measures to help deepen the movement to learn from Tachai. While the communes and brigades should rely on their own efforts, the state should give them necessary support in funds, material, technique and equipment.

Serious efforts should be made to make a success of state farms for growing crops and raising animals as well as state forestry and aquatic products enterprises. These undertakings, which have tremendous potential and offer a large proportion of marketable products, have broad prospects. We must strengthen leadership over them and give full scope to the advantages of ownership by the whole people and the exemplary role it plays.

Doing a good job in the exchange of commodities between town and country is a major issue related to the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance. We should, on the one hand, organize the timely supply of manufactured goods to the countryside to aid agricultural production and, on the other, educate the cadres and commune members to resolutely fulfil state targets for planting food

ship of the Party committees at all levels and that no attempt should be made to pull out Teng's agents at various levels. Trying to undermine the Party's centralized leadership, the "gang of four" went their own way and put in their oar everywhere and clamoured for ferreting out people at all levels and even "a layer of persons," in an attempt to overthrow a large number of Party, government and army leading comrades at the central and local levels. Chairman Mao instructed: "**Don't affect industry, agriculture, commerce and the army.**" But they instigated and ganged up with some people to form "fighting groups," squawking: "Don't produce for the wrong line." They made trouble everywhere, paralysing some Party and government organizations, effecting capitalist restoration in some places and turning loose monsters of all kinds to launch fierce attacks against the Party.

Owing to the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," some places became uncertain and wavering in implementing Document No. 21 issued by the Party Central Committee in 1975, and some other places recalled their work teams conducting education in the Party's basic line. In view of this, the Party Central Committee planned in April this

year to telephone a directive reaffirming the correctness of Document No. 21 and of carrying out, in the rural areas, education in the Party's basic line, consolidating Party organizations and rectifying the work style and sending work teams to the countryside, and insisting on following through on all these. Chang Chun-chiao said insolently: "Who knows whether this education in basic line is correct or not!" "The reactionary line made work teams go down and forbade them to return to their units to rebel. Is this permissible?" and "Now we mustn't carry on according to the plans mapped out in Document No. 21." As a result of obstructions by the "gang of four," the directive was not issued.

In May and June this year, the State Council directed the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry to convene on-the-spot meetings on summer harvesting, sowing and field management in northern China and on rice growing in the south. On the authority of the Party Central Committee, I conveyed at these meetings Chairman Mao's instructions concerning the socialist education movement, reiterated the need to conscientiously implement the Central Committee Document No. 21 and stressed support for the work of Party committees at all levels and grasping revolution and promoting

It is necessary to adhere to the principle of running the commune diligently and thriflly and in a democratic way, strengthen management, practise economic accounting, and conscientiously improve distribution work. Some places are now overburdened with non-productive personnel and overburdened with non-productive expenditures, and there has been serious waste and extravagance. Some other places set aside nothing or only very small amounts as accumulation funds. Efforts should be made in an earnest way to solve these problems which are detrimental to consolidating the people's communes and mobilizing the commune members' enthusiasm for socialism. "We must consider all three, the state, the collective and the individual," and correctly handle the relationship between accumulation and consumption. "Except in case of extraordinary natural disasters, we must see to it that, given increased agricultural production, 90 per cent of the co-operative members get some increase in their income and the other 10 per cent break even each year, and if the latter's income should fall, ways must be found to solve the problem in good time."

Practical steps should be taken to help the poorer communes and production brigades change

at the disposal of the commune, are still limited at present, herein lies our great and bright hope." We must follow Chairman Mao's instructions and energetically expand commune- and brigade-run enterprises and strengthen the economy at the commune and brigade levels. Considerable progress has been made in developing commune- and brigade-run enterprises since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. By 1975, 90 per cent of the communes and 60 per cent of the brigades in the country had set up enterprises of their own, totalling over 800,000. But leading comrades in some places have not yet given adequate attention to this aspect of work, and the economy at the commune and brigade levels is still fairly weak. We should give wholehearted support to such newborn things as commune- and brigade-run enterprises in line with Chairman Hua's instructions in his letter on their expansion. We should strengthen leadership in real earnest, keep to the socialist orientation, incorporate production, supply and marketing into state plans step by step and promote the growth of the economy at the commune and brigade levels so as to create conditions for the gradual transition.¹⁰

production. This hit the "gang of four" where it hurt. Their agents in Shanghai and Soochow challenged my qualification to represent the Party Central Committee. They smeared my speech as "100 per cent the theory of productive forces," and claimed that I "know only how to work hard and sweat but know nothing about political line."

In spite of the fact that Chairman Mao's health had deteriorated, Chiang Ching went to Tachai for the second time on September 2 to relax and enjoy the scenery, ride horseback and feed the deer. As soon as she got off the train, she turned on Tachai and truculently said: "I've come to fight the revisionist line." She raved that "Tachai is lagging behind politically" and "following the revisionist line." She intended to knock down at one stroke the red banner of Tachai personally cited by Chairman Mao, so that she could establish another "model." Whom did she have in mind? Her own self.

There are numerous irrefutable proofs of the heinous crimes of the "gang of four" in interfering with and sabotaging the movement to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. They opposed going all out to criticize

revisionism and capitalism and build socialism, and they tried to pull down the red banner of Tachai. The essence of their actions was to usurp Party and state power, change the Party's basic line and restore capitalism.

Confronted with the counter-revolutionary attacks by the "gang of four," Tachai and Hsiyang once again set an example for us by their resolute struggle against the gang. With the masses and cadres throughout the country standing firm against the evil wind and overcoming all interference, the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture progressed amid the storms of class struggle. The more than 300 counties which already excelled in the movement have been consolidated and made further progress. Another hundred or so counties joined the ranks of advanced units in learning from Tachai this year. Many provinces have persisted in conscientiously learning from Tachai and launched large-scale education in the Party's basic line, and large numbers of counties have come to the fore in the movement to learn from Tachai. Spurred on by the education in the Party's basic line, Shantung, Kiangsu and Anhwei provinces have made rapid progress in agricultural production. In 1975 Shantung increased its grain

efforts, the state should make big efforts to help them develop small local iron and steel and other industries supporting agriculture and ensure the accomplishment of the great task set by Chairman Mao of realizing farm mechanization in the main by 1980.

It is necessary to give full scope to the people's communes' advantages of being bigger in scale and having a more developed socialist nature than the former agricultural co-ops and consolidate and develop the people's commune system. As early as the initial stage of the people's commune movement, the great leader Chairman Mao noted: "The advance from incomplete ownership by the commune towards complete, single ownership by the commune is a process in which the level of production of the poorer production teams is raised to that of the better-off production teams as well as a process of expanding the commune public accumulation funds, developing commune-run industries and realizing the mechanization and electrification of agriculture and the industrialization of the commune and the country as a whole. Although the things directly owned by the commune, such as commune-run enterprises and other under-

The more enthusiastically the people work, the more we should be concerned with their well-being, pay attention to methods of work and guard against coercion and commandism. We must make sure that after a few years of hard work and by 1980, there will be an average of one-fifteenth of a hectare of land for each of the farming population, land giving high and stable yields irrespective of drought and waterlogging.

We must step up the pace of farm mechanization. Damage has been done to our iron and steel industry in the last few years as a result of interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," which affected the progress of farm mechanization. We must race against time, surmount all difficulties and resolutely push forward our work in this field. It is necessary to learn from the experience of Hopei, Shantung, Kwangsi, Kiangsu, Hunan, Anhwei and other provinces, rely on the masses, display the spirit of self-reliance, make full use of local resources and energetically expand small local industries and the manufacture of farm machinery, and produce more chemical fertilizer, pesticides, farm machines and parts, and plastic sheeting. While the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should mainly rely on their own

output by 2.75 million tons compared with 1974, and this year the province chalked up another increase of 2.5 million tons. Even in areas seriously affected by the "gang of four's" interference, many counties have stood firm and persisted in implementing Document No. 21 issued by the Central Committee, learned from Tachai unswervingly and made new achievements.

However, we must note the fact that interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" did cause great losses to the learn-from-Tachai movement and to agricultural production, and in places where they intervened directly, the consequences were even more serious. Agricultural production in the six provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan, Fukien, Chekiang and Kiangsi has suffered serious disruption in the past few years. In Wenchou, the most seriously affected prefecture, the situation in many places deteriorated to such an extent that the land was divided up and commune members had to go it alone. Polarization of rich and poor re-emerged, black markets became rampant and the collective economy disintegrated. Class enemies became increasingly arrogant, and the poor and lower-middle peasants were thrown into misery. There, cadres who upheld the collective

were stigmatized as "capitalist-readers," while those who incited going it alone were praised as "revolutionaries." The example of Wenchou shows that if the "gang of four" had seized power, capitalist restoration would have occurred throughout the country, our country would have changed colour and the people would again have been thrown into the abyss of suffering.

Now that the "gang of four" has been toppled, its scheme to sabotage the movement to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties has also been smashed to smithereens.

But liquidating their pernicious effect and influence calls for tremendous efforts. We must grasp the ultra-Right essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four" and thoroughly and penetratingly repudiate their crimes in opposing our efforts to criticize revisionism and capitalism and build socialism and in attempting to pull down the red banner of Tachai. We should continue to conscientiously act on the summing-up report by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng at last year's national learn-from-Tachai conference and persevere in criticizing revisionism and capitalism and going all out to build socialism. We must

National Programme for Agricultural Development and overfulfil the plans for production of grain, cotton, edible oil, hogs and various industrial crops and in forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fisheries.

It is necessary to implement the Eight-Point Charter⁹ for agriculture in an all-round way and raise the level of scientific farming. It is imperative, in particular, to make unremitting efforts to undertake capital construction on the farmland in a big way, do a good job of this great socialist undertaking and ensure high and stable farm yields. We have achieved tremendous successes in this respect but the development has been rather uneven; in a few places mountains and rivers have remained untouched and the people there still live at the mercy of the elements. This state of affairs must not be allowed to continue. We must wage an all-out people's war for farmland capital construction by combining the mass movement with the efforts of professionals. We must display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle typified by Tachai, fear neither hardship nor death and resolve to work hard and persist in doing so for a long time, so as to bring about a great change in the mountains and rivers and a new look to the land.

Piao and the "gang of four" were serious and that the rate of agricultural development has fallen far short of the demands arising out of the great strategic principle "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people," far short of the requirements of our country's socialist revolution and construction. We must keep to the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism," continue to implement the general principle of "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor" in developing the national economy, further consolidate and expand the collective economy of the people's communes, and make a leap from small-scale farming with animal-drawn farm implements to large-scale mechanized farming. Spurred on by the struggle to penetratingly expose and relentlessly criticize the "gang of four," we must resolutely fulfil the fighting tasks set by the Party Central Committee: By 1980, build more than one-third of the counties into Tachai-type counties; realize in the main the mechanization of farming throughout the country; take grain as the key link and ensure an all-round development, and top the related targets set in the

hold still higher the red banner of learning from Tachai in agriculture, and do a still better job in the movement to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country.

III. Continue to Deepen Education in the Party's Basic Line

In accordance with Chairman Mao's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report at last year's learn-from-Tachai conference expounded the principles, policies and significance for carrying out education in the Party's basic line in the rural areas. He pointed out: "Deepening education in the Party's basic line in the countryside is the fundamental guarantee for building Tachai-type counties." Chairman Mao's scientific thesis published this year, "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road," has enabled us to get a deeper understanding of the Party's basic line and raised our comprehension of the importance of education in the

Party's basic line. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and Chairman Hua's instructions and resolutely continue to deepen education in the Party's basic line.

At present, the primary task in carrying out education in the Party's basic line in the countryside is to boldly arouse the hundreds of millions of peasants and wage a people's war for exposing and denouncing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four." Our Party's struggle against the "gang of four" is, in essence, a continuation of the protracted struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the revolutionary masses led by it against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. The deepening of this struggle is a most practical and profound education in the Party's basic line. The winning of this battle will greatly enhance the consciousness of the cadres and masses in class struggle and the two-line struggle, and speed the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties. The leadership at all levels must stand in the forefront of the struggle and lead the masses in using the facts in the rural areas to thoroughly expose and

overall plan and grasp one-third of the work well each year in order to gain experience first and persist in doing so for a long time so that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled right through to the grass-roots level and every county is built into a fighting bastion that upholds Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and stays on the socialist road.

IV. China's Agriculture Must Develop Faster

The present excellent situation calls for greater and faster expansion of our country's socialist agriculture. This is a matter of common concern to the people throughout China, a matter that has an overall bearing on the high-speed development of our country's socialist economic construction.

We have now a number of advanced counties that have distinguished themselves in learning from Tachai and we have reaped rich harvests for 15 years in a row, thus ensuring food and clothing for our 800 million people. This is a very great achievement. But we must take note of the fact that the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin

rades who have committed mistakes, including those who have committed serious mistakes, we must adhere to the policy of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient. It will be all right provided those who have made mistakes correct them. There should be relatively less turnover among the ranks of cadres at the grass-roots level. Sabotage by the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements and new and old bourgeois elements must be severely dealt with, and counter-revolutionaries and those who have indulged in mistreating people, destruction and looting must be resolutely suppressed.

Education in the Party's basic line should be carried out in a well-guided and systematic way under the centralized leadership of the county Party committees; the method should be that of combining work both inside and outside the Party, in both urban and rural areas and both at selected points and in entire areas. Effective work teams should be dispatched, who should not take everything into their own hands, but should rely on the commune Party committees and Party branches at the grass-roots level and on the poor and lower-middle peasants. It is necessary to draw up an

denounce the vile crimes of the "gang of four" in practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in conspiracies and intrigues under the guise of Marxism and attempting to usurp supreme Party and state power; thoroughly expose and denounce their vile crimes in pushing a counter-revolutionary revisionist line and trying to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism; and thoroughly expose and denounce their towering crimes in opposing our efforts to criticize revisionism and capitalism and build socialism and in trying to pull down the red banner of Tachai to disrupt the learn-from-Tachai movement.

Representing the interests of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and new and old bourgeoisie, and taking the reactionary stand, the "gang of four" opposed going all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and to build socialism. They rode roughshod over the people, committed all manner of evil, and labelled and persecuted people at random. Anyone who learned from Tachai was stigmatized as "not grasping class struggle"; anyone who carried out education in the Party's basic line was labelled as "directing the spearhead of attack downward" and

as "opposing the corrupt officials only and not the emperor";⁵ anyone who carried out consolidation of Party organizations and rectification of the style of work was charged with "capitalist restoration" and "retrogression"; anyone who dispatched work teams to the countryside was accused of "pursuing a bourgeois reactionary line"; anyone who stressed the centralized leadership of the Party was accused of "supporting the capitalist-roaders and suppressing the revolution"; and anyone who went all out to build socialism was accused of practising the "theory of productive forces." Charges and accusations were hurled right and left and the big stick swung in all directions, seriously dampening the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and masses. In a considerable number of places, confusion was created in people's minds and in the class ranks, and Party organizations were messed up; the centralized leadership of the Party was disrupted, democratic centralism of the Party violated, Party unity sabotaged, the Party's fine tradition trampled on, efforts to grasp revolution and promote production thwarted and the dictatorship of the proletariat undermined. They tried to change the Party's basic line, turn back the wheel of history, reinstate the

In carrying out education in the Party's basic line, methods must be adopted which have proved effective "constantly to imbue the peasant masses with the socialist ideology and to criticize the tendency towards capitalism." The Tachai people have said correctly: "Without blocking the capitalist road one cannot take the socialist road." Resolute measures must be taken against embezzlers and grafters, speculators and profiteers; corrections must be made resolutely in the few places where *san zi yi bao*⁶ has been practised and where land has been divided up for individual farming. Firm criticism should be made of capitalistic activities carried out under the signboard of the collective, and the correct orientation should be followed, so as constantly to consolidate and strengthen the collective economy of the people's communes.

In carrying out education in the Party's basic line, the Party's policies should be grasped well and the two different types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves—should be strictly differentiated and correctly handled. Help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack. The overwhelming majority of our cadres are good or comparatively good. As regards com-

ideological rectification in the course of consolidating Party organizations and rectifying the style of work, organizational rectification should be carried out where it is really necessary so as to ensure that leadership is truly in the hands of Marxists and the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Cadres at all levels must take part regularly in collective productive labour, and those at the county, commune and brigade levels must put in 100, 200 and 300 days a year respectively in such labour. It is essential to take a correct attitude towards the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, towards the masses and towards oneself, warmly support the socialist new things and consciously re-strict bourgeois right. It is necessary to uphold the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies and actively train and select new emerging forces in accordance with the five requirements⁶ for worthy successors to the cause of proletarian revolution. The "May 7" cadre schools⁷ should be run well. Educated young people going to settle in the countryside should be given due care and encouragement and they should be helped to play their full role in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

overthrown class enemies and fling the poor and lower-middle peasants back into misery.

The fact that the "gang of four" opposed going all out to build socialism and hurled charges of practising the "theory of productive forces" at random showed that they did not understand Marxism-Leninism at all. At the current conference, all comrades have studied Chairman Mao's *On the Ten Major Relationships* and seen more clearly the revisionist absurdity of the "gang of four." With this gang, "metaphysics is rampant." They pitted politics against economics, revolution against production, the relations of production against the productive forces and the superstructure against the economic base, in complete violation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao pointed out: "There is absolutely no doubt about the unity of politics and economics, the unity of politics and technique. This is true now and will always be true." "Ideological work and political work are the guarantee for accomplishing economic work and technical work, and they serve the economic base. Moreover, ideology and politics are the commander, the soul." The difference between grasping revolution and promoting production on

the one hand and practising the "theory of productive forces" on the other is the difference between relating the development of productive forces to socialism or relating it to capitalism. That is to say, the criterion is which road one really takes. What we criticize is the erroneous tendency of not grasping class struggle, not caring about politics and not taking the socialist road. We certainly do not criticize efforts aimed at developing socialist production.

In carrying out education in the Party's basic line, we should organize the cadres and masses for conscientious study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, repudiate the revisionist fallacies spread by the "gang of four," smash the spiritual shackles they imposed on the people and distinguish Marxism from revisionism, socialism from capitalism, materialism and dialectics from idealism and metaphysics. We should hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and march steadfastly along the road of learning from Tachai in agriculture.

In carrying out education in the Party's basic line, it is necessary to do a good job of consolidating Party organizations and rectifying the style of work. We should conduct Marxist education among

all Party members and cadres, wage active ideological struggle and more firmly uphold the three basic principles, "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." The problems of line, revolutionary drive, style of work and unity must be solved well and the influence of the "gang of four" must be eliminated politically, ideologically and organizationally. Resolute struggles must be waged against the few unrepentant capitalist-roaders practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies. In some places, Party members and cadres must be educated to overcome bourgeois factionalism and strengthen proletarian Party spirit. The Party organizations at all levels should be built into united and militant leading cores that resolutely implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies. In consolidating the Party organizations at the grass-roots level, instances in some communes and production brigades where power is in the hands of bad elements, political degenerates, persons bent on taking the capitalist road, goody-goodies and those whose ideology is still at the stage of China's democratic revolution, should be handled carefully according to the nature of each case. While stress is put on